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ONE MORE
LETTER
TO THE
PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

By their OLD FRIEND.

" Amidſt the wealthy City Murmurs riſe,
" Loud Railings, and Reproach." ROWE.
" 'Tis now the very Criſis of your Fate:
" By me your Genius ſpeaks; by me it
" Warns ye." *ibid.*
" ——————— Judge me not ungentle,
" Of Manners rude, and inſolent of Speech,
" If, when the public Welfare is the Queſtion,
" My Zeal flows warm and eager from my Pen."
ibid.

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LETTER

TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

ONE MORE LETTER TO THE PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

[By their Old Friend.]

THOUGH the people of England may not be ignorant of the various particulars with which this my laſt letter commences, yet my countrymen will ſee the neceſſity of ſo brief a recapitulation, in order for the more properly diſcuſſing thoſe important points which I ſhall then bring upon the carpet.

No ſooner was the laſt peace concluded, than the French diſcovered their perfidious intention of kindling up a new war in America. The court of Verſailles, under pre-

tence of an uncertainty in the article of the treaty relative to the boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, not only made themſelves maſters of the diſputed territories, but alſo built forts on thoſe of our acknowleged provinces; debarred our merchants from trading, as uſual, with the Indians in amity with us; impriſoned ſome of them, brought them in chains to France, and incited their Indian dependents to lay waſte our plantations, and pillage, murder, and torture our planters, without the leaſt regard either to age, ſex, or condition. Every province, and almoſt all of them at the ſame time, ſuffered the moſt unheard-of cruelties inflicted on them by a ſet of mercileſs ſavages, acting under the command of inhuman Frenchmen diſguiſed like Indians, and ſupported in the ſtrongeſt manner by all their countrymen of the *half-breed* *. The cries of our oppreſſed Americans reached, it is true, their mother-country; they were heard, they were promiſed to be removed; nevertheleſs, for the ſpace of ſome years, relief was ſent ſo ſlowly and ineffectually, that our power in the weſtern world was on the point of being annihilated for ever.

* The French term thoſe the half-breed, whoſe parents are one of them an European (or of an European family) and the other an Indian.

The

The moſt vigorous meaſures were, however, at laſt reſolved upon, and orders were iſſued, by the court of London, for the ſeizing of French ſhips where-ever they could be met with, bringing them into our ports, and detaining them there, by way of depoſit, till it appeared whether the French monarch was to be prevailed upon, in the way of negotiation, to repair our injuries, and do us that national juſtice which the nature of our caſe demanded, and which, notwithkanding the moſt earneſt and repeated ſolicitations, he had hitherto ſeemed very much indiſpoſed to grant.

The court of Verſailles, inſtead of being engaged by this ſtep to liſten more attentively to our equitable repreſentations, pretended to be enraged at this moſt juſtifiable meaſure; and was pleaſed to ſtigmatize, as an infringement on the law of nations, a procedure which their own refractory conduct, that had bidden defiance to the laws of God and the dictates of humanity, had rendered abſolutely neceſſary.

This meaſure, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, became the ſignal for the commencement of open hoſtilities between the two nations. The war on our part proceeded very ſlowly. Accounts from various

quarters were timely received of the deſigns of France on the iſland of Minorca; nevertheleſs, through an indolent ſupineneſs, an unwarrantable incredulity, or a heartleſs timidity, that highly *important*, becauſe highly *uſeful* fortreſs, was ſhamefully ſuffered, by the then directors of the helm, to fall into the hands of the enemy. This loſs, as it was at the very beginning of the war, greatly raiſed the ſpirits of our foes, and ſtrongly invigorated their meaſures; whilſt, on the other hand, it threw an almoſt indelible ſtain on the Britiſh arms, and tended to enervate every ſinew of its government. Our ſoldiers were diſcouraged, and our people diſtracted with rumours of invaſions, flat-bottomed boats, and ſuch-like fantaſtic chimæras. Nay, our timorous miniſtry, unwilling to truſt this naturally intrepid nation with the defence of all that they hold dear, thought fit to call in foreign mercenaries to ſave from ſlavery a people by Providence deſigned, and by valour qualified, to give laws to the globe. In one word, an univerſal deſpondency damped our ſpirits, and rendered abortive thoſe languid endeavours which ſeemed to be dictated by the laſt remains of that heroic temper for which our glorious anceſtors are ſo juſtly celebrated.

In

In the midſt of this ſcene, by much too pungent to be dwelt upon, the patriot miniſter ſtepped forth to ſave his ſinking country. Univerſally ſtruck with the dread of that impending deſtruction which ſeemed to threaten our very exiſtence as a free and independent nation, we gladly complied with the directions of England's guardian: The aſtoniſhing effects of his exalted genius and extenſive intelligence appeared in each department of the ſtate; and throughout the whole nation was diffuſed a well-founded hope of a moſt auſpicious change in the ſucceſs of public meaſures. The event fully confirmed the general opinion of his amazing abilities: The ſhips of the French were locked up in their harbours; and ſo judiciouſly were our cruizers ſtationed, that ſcarce a ſingle one of thoſe veſſels, that had the temerity to venture out, could ever boaſt of entering again any of their own ports; Great Britain and her colonies were protected, whilſt the ſettlements of her enemy on the continent of America, among the Weſtern Iſles, and in the farther India, were ſubmitting to her victorious arms; their trade, as a commercial nation, falling to deſtruction; and their force, as a naval power, dwindling into nothing. In a word, our ſucceſſes even kept the lead of our warmeſt expectations; and thoſe very foes, who ſo lately were exulting

ulting in their conqueſts over *us*, were now mourning at our triumphs over *them*.

During theſe glorious operations, the Spaniards pretended to maintain a moſt ſtrict neutrality, but in fact were acting a part moſt ſhamefully partial. The well-known affair of the Antigallican was not the only inſtance of their unjuſtifiable conduct: In the Gut of Gibraltar, and almoſt under the guns of our fortreſs, they protected and were ſharers in divers French row-boats that watched for and frequently ſeized our merchant ſhips as they ſet in for the Mediterranean; and in various other ports of Spain they behaved in the ſame unwarrantable manner, aiding our enemies, ſharing with them in our ſpoils, and ſometimes even taking our ſhips when cloſe within the Spaniſh ſhore: Nay, at St. Lucar, a French-Spaniſh privateer brought in eleven merchant ſhips, all unlawfully made prizes whilſt they were land-locked in the very river. One of his Majeſty's cutters was even ſeized in the harbour of Vigo; and the Spaniards frequently allowed our flag to be inſulted there and at Cadiz. The crews of ſome of theſe privateers, as well as their owners, were altogether Spaniards. At length almoſt every mail brought an account of ſome new oppreſſion or ſome new diſgrace thrown on

our people in Spain by the prejudiced kindneſs of that haughty court to an inveterate enemy, with whom we were then engaged in a moſt juſt and neceſſary war. Remonſtrances, by repeated experience, were found to be totally ineffectual; and, while our watchful miniſter was ruminating on the moſt certain means of aſſerting the honour of his country, and obtaining reparation to her injured ſubjects, he received indubitable intelligence of a ſecret treaty concluded between France and Spain, calculated to deſtroy our commerce, raiſe that of France on the ruins of ours, and enable our enemies once more to diſpute with us the empire of the ocean, and the dominion of North America. By this intelligence his reſolution was fixed. There appeared an abſolute neceſſity to have recourſe to arms againſt Spain, in order to vindicate our rights, and protect our merchants from any farther depredations. But as his advice was diſregarded, and he could no longer ſerve his country in the high ſtation to which he had been called by its unanimous ſuffrages, no courſe remained for him to take, for his own honour, but to leave an adminiſtration that he could no longer direct to thoſe glorious ends which he had ever had in view.

Another

Another miniſtry ſucceeded, and war with Spain became unavoidable. But it was then entered upon under very great diſadvantages. Spain had not only got home her treaſures from the Indies, but had gained time to prepare herſelf againſt the impending ſtorm.

But that univerſal concord which was the effect of the patriot's upright management, in a great meaſure retired with him. However, the ſtrength that he had left in the public direction, exerted itſelf after his departure, in bringing to a happy end an expedition which he had planned againſt Martinico; and that invaluable iſland ſwelled the number of our national trophies.

In the mean time, our preſaging fears broke out into univerſal animoſities, and the preſs began to reſound with our unnatural debates. One party extolled the meaſures of the former miniſtry, while the venal hirelings of another, *ſaid* (though I am inclined to think *falſely* ſaid) to be ſet to work by a great man, who is beſt known by the general diſreſpect which the public affect to bear him, not only repaid their antagoniſts with railing for railing, but infamouſly fell foul of the ENGLISH nation itſelf, whoſe greateſt reproach is, her exuberant kindneſs, and extraordinary forbearance, to thoſe her worthleſs

worthleſs and ungrateful ſons; who, while their veins ſwell with free-born blood, yet audaciouſly diſgrace their original ſo far as to become the advocates of * * * * * *, and treat this free and ſagacious nation, as if they were the ſlaves of their own ſervants, the miniſters of the public. Is it treaſon to differ in opinion from any fellow-ſubject, who, by the moſt fallacious reaſonings, would endeavour to deceive us in the importance of our conqueſts, and baſely attempt to convince us, that you, my countrymen, the people of England, are an ungovernable band of rebels, a turbulent and lawleſs mob, that will ſubmit to no government, and yield no obedience to lawful authority? And yet this very charge, heavy as it is! has the ſcribbling tool of a party, the writer of the Briton, brought againſt ye——and all for what? becauſe, forſooth, ye cannot diſcover the utility of parting with our invaluable acquiſitions to a deceitful and conquered enemy. An enemy whoſe veracity no wiſe man will truſt; a mean-ſpirited and tricking foe; from whoſe enſnaring frauds we cannot be ſafe, otherwiſe than by depriving them of the power to hurt us. If they had behaved courageouſly, like men and like ſoldiers, compaſſion might have pleaded ſomething on their behalf; but what can be ſaid for timid and puſillanimous enemies, who cannot ac-

quit themſelves in the field, in any degree conformable to the character they pretend to? Enemies that cannot, in the preſence of equal numbers, bear the ſight of our flags or our ſtandards, without inſtantly conſulting their ſafety by a ſhameful, ignominious flight? Enemies that cannot entertain the generous reſolution of nobly ſtruggling and wreſting from us by their ſword, the extenſive dominions of which we have ſo bravely ſtripped them; but meanly have recourſe to artifice, to cunning, and to chicanery; to a reliance on their acknowleged ſuperior talents in the infernal arts of entangling a generous-meaning conqueror in the various labyrinths of a perplexed negotiation; and, by ſuch wily preheminence, trick us out of our principal dear-bought conqueſts, and what perhaps is ſtill more hurtful to the Britiſh nation, a ſhare of our fiſhing-trade on the banks of Newfoundland; a trade of more value than the mines of Peru! a trade that enriches our merchants, and nurſes ſuch heroes as thoſe who conquered the Havannah! Theſe are the preſents the French expect from us, in return for all the blood we have ſpilled, the treaſures we have waſted, the lives we have laviſhed, and the toils and dangers our heroic countrymen have undergone for theſe ſeveral years paſt! This is the reparation they think of making us, in

return

return for the barbarous murders committed on our people in America. Is England thus to reward the pillager, the ravager, the torturer, of her American ſubjects? muſt England feed thus and exalt her enemies? muſt ſhe provide her rival in trade with a nurſery for ſeamen? furniſh them with the beſt and moſt valuable iſlands in the Weſt-Indies? ſurrender to the Spaniards the weſtern Gibraltar? muſt ſhe thus nouriſh the ſeamen of her enemies, and thus enrich their merchants with her ſpoils? muſt we, my countrymen, be doomed, by perfidious France, to ſuffer theſe things, and yet be ſtyled rebels to our country for repining and complaining?

During the patriot's adminiſtration, our allies on the continent of Europe were properly ſupported. The French, whoſe policy it is to prohibit commerce with us wherever their power extends, were checked in their all-graſping intentions in Germany, where we carry on many valuable branches of trade *. The Weſer and the Elbe, while in the hands of the elector of Hanover, afford a paſſage for our Newfoundland fiſh, and

* As ſufficiently appears by our exports to Bremen, Stetin, the Hans Towns, and other parts of that great continent.

merchandizes of all ſorts, into the heart of that extenſive inland country, where they always find a ready market and a high price. It would be endleſs to recount every advantage we reap from our acceſs to thoſe interior and retired provinces. It is enough to inform my countrymen, that at ſome ſeaſons of the year, a herring will there fetch even the price of ſix-pence, and other fiſh as proportionably exorbitant. But if the French arms, and thoſe of their allies, were permitted to over-run that continent, nothing but what is French will be permitted to be ſold there. All our trade with Germany, Holland, and the Low Countries, would be totally cut off. Yet this rational meaſure, and the ſupport thereby given to our German allies, ſo neceſſary for preſerving our commercial intereſts, as well as a proper idea of our power, in thoſe parts, were openly decried by theſe ignorant hirelings; who, not knowing any thing of the various ſources of our traffick, yet arrogantly aſſume to guide a nation, not more renowned for the greatneſs of its arms, than famous beyond all other kingdoms for the extenſiveneſs of its commerce.

Mr. P——'s adminiſtration, ſo far as regarded the war, was moſt certainly not only blameleſs, but highly meritorious. By his con-

confirming the old, and entering into a new and more enlarged treaty with Pruſſia, he encouraged and obliged France to continue a war, which aſſiſted in exhauſting her treaſures, abſolutely thinned her armies, and drew her attention, in a great meaſure, from the principal object we then had in view; namely, the conqueſt of Canada. Our dignity in the eyes of foreigners, and even in thoſe of our enemies, was thereby increaſed, till France became ſenſible, that Britain, without the aſſiſtance of her naval power, is ſtill able, by the ſkill of her generals, and the valour of her armies, to check her favourite ſcheme of univerſal monarchy.

But although the miniſterial writers, before the breaking out of the Portugueſe war, ſo ſtrongly condemned all continental connections, yet the neceſſity of ſupporting ſo beneficial an ally as Portugal, appeared in ſo clear a light, that neither the preſent great man's (perhaps laudable) parſimonious diſpoſition, nor the new revived anti-continental doctrine, could prevail on the adminiſtration to permit our enemies to conquer that kingdom, and thereby deprive us of the valuable branches of trade we carry on with that power. For which conſideration, the defence of his moſt faithful majeſty was undertaken by our court: I with I could alſo

add, that it appeared to me, that this important point had been duly attended to, with all the vigour an affair of that conſequence required.

The king of Spain, though he ſtrongly threatened, was not ſo ſpeedy in his military operations, as he was forward in bluſtering. He began to diſcover his deſigns upon this country ſo early as the Month of Feb. laſt, but his troops did not enter the territories of Portugal till the beginning of May; yet, notwithſtanding the tardineſs of his meaſures, our ſupplies were embarked not only very ſparingly, but, I think, very ſlowly.

The writers of the Auditor and the Briton have of a long time inveighed againſt the glorious conqueſts with which the Almighty has been pleaſed to bleſs the people of England, in proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war, and given us to underſtand, that theſe invaluable acquiſitions are regarded by their patrons in an odious light, being eſtimated by them as ſo many obſtacles to juſt and moderate meaſures, and of no uſe but to furniſh the oppoſers of a ſhameful peace, or, in their own words, the enemies of Europe's repoſe, with arguments to withſtand the reaſonable efforts of thoſe able miniſters, who, they tell us, deſire nothing more ardently,

than

than to ſee a glorious and univerſal peace reſtored to the European world.

My countrymen who are verſed in the hiſtories of former ages, are not to be informed, that when any diſagreeable meaſures were on the anvil, it was the general practice of the great men in power, through the means of proſtituted hirelings, to uſher in the unacceptable news, by decrying the preſent ſituation of affairs, and publicly adviſing meaſures, as matters of their own opinion, which were privately dictated to them by their employers. I do not take upon me to ſay, how far, or by whom, or whether at all, thoſe infamous writers, the authors of the Auditor and the Briton, have been corrupted to depreciate our conqueſts, and particularly thoſe in the Weſtern world: I ſhould rather hope, and am not altogether diſinclined to believe, that they are their own officious ſentiments. But certain it is, their language has juſtly alarmed the friends of Great Britain, and given them great cauſe to fear that the patrons of theſe ſcribblers, if patrons they have, thereby intended properly to prepare the minds of the people; and that theſe diſcourſes are to be followed by the publication of articles whereby our important Weſtern acquiſitions are to be reſtored to a conquered, a beggared, and a ruined enemy;

and

and that England, though every where triumphing over her vanquiſhed enemies, poſſeſſed of the key of their treaſures, bleſſed by heaven with a more powerful fleet, better ſailors, and more valiant ſoldiers, ſhall yet, notwithſtanding theſe glorious diſtinctions, ſtoop to a precarious peace; and, finally, that, for the ſake of obtaining, what ſhe never can have, the laſting friendſhip of the houſe of Bourbon, deſpoil herſelf of gifts, which heaven, for the univerſal benefit of the human race, has thought fit to confer upon her; and thereby part with conqueſts whoſe value, to be ſold, ſuppoſing purchaſers could be found for them, far exceeds the whole of her national debt; and which, if kept, are ſtill of much greater conſequence to her.

The exports of Guadalupe, ariſing from its own produce, and brought into Britiſh ports, amount to near a million of money yearly, as appears by our cuſtom-houſe books; beſides this, what is annually carried into our plantations on the continent of America; the value of the ſlaves purchaſed by the inhabitants of that iſland; and the benefit ariſing to the national manufactures, from their conſumption of Britiſh commodities; amount in the whole to a very conſiderable ballance, in favour of this kingdom. It is

alſo

alſo to be conſidered, that this iſland is daily improving, and in our hands will increaſe more quickly than it could do under French adminiſtration. Our laws and rules of government allowing greater liberty to the planters, and conſequently granting to them more opportunities to acquire riches, than they poſſibly could have under thoſe cramping regulations which are obſerved wherever the dominion of the houſe of Bourbon extends.

Should that iſland again belong to France, the produce of the planter's farm, as ſoon as it is ſevered from the ground, muſt be carried (as it always uſed to be) to the king's warehouſe, and brought to Europe, in the cuſtody, and under the inſpection, of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's officers; who diſpoſe of it by direction of the court of Verſailles, and return to the planter what they think proper. This is a fact on which my countrymen may abſolutely rely. But in our colonies, the planters are at all times maſters of their own, and may take every opportunity of an advantageous offer that comes in their way.

There is another great advantage attending the iſlands ſubject to Britiſh laws, that

the plantations belonging to France and Spain are utterly deprived of, and which greatly accelerates their improvement, and redounds to the immediate advantage of the inhabitants, as well as the emolument of ourſelves; namely, that all foreigners are not only allowed the privilege, but are invited to ſettle and trade with us, without being ſubject to painful enquiries reſpecting their religious principles, or any other injurious reſtraint whatever. So that the American plantations, in our hands, become, in fact, the property of the human race in general; and are quickly filled, without diſpeopling the mother-country. Theſe ſettlers are conſequently proud of the new diſtinction they acquire, by being incorporated with this free and reſpectable kingdom; chearfully ſubmit to our equitable laws, and are ready, on all occaſions, vigorouſly to defend a conſtitution from which they reap ſuch important benefits. Their families affect our cuſtoms; their children are emulouſly fond of our language; and in a generation or two they cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the deſcendants of Britain. From this cauſe it is that our plantations are filled with an incredible rapidity, while England increaſes alſo in wealth and in numbers.

As I have mentioned a matter ſo new as the increaſe of the people of England, I hope it may not be improper to leave my ſubject for a little while, important as it is, in order to lay before the publick my reaſons for maintaining a point ſo oppoſite to common opinion.

If we peruſe the hiſtories of the reign immediately preceding thoſe in which the migrations to America commenced, we ſhall find that the then parliaments loudly complained of the decay of the antient boroughs, of the low ſtate of agriculture, and the immenſe flocks of ſheep that were every-where *paſtured* in England, which is an animal that is beſt nouriſhed on *dry* and *barren* lands. The Engliſh boroughs were then fallen into decay, and ſince that time ſome of them have recovered, and are recovering, their antient appearance. Many of them are greatly enlarged; ſeveral barren heaths reduced into corn-fields, or filled with villages, and farm-houſes; more corn, large cattle, and proviſions of all ſorts, multiplied in England, yet greatly riſing in price. All theſe are inconteſtible circumſtances, which, put together, plainly prove, that the number of houſes and conſumers in our country is greatly increaſed ſince the Reformation, notwithſtanding the numbers who ſince that time

have gone to America. Beſides, if we may credit the account of our hiſtorians, concerning the numbers of ſenſible men in England in thoſe times, we are perfectly certain, that our native country, ſince then, muſt be greatly increaſed in point of inhabitants; for ſo late as the reign of Henry VII. the number of men in London and Weſtminſter, able to bear arms, amounted to 15,000 only; and now Weſtminſter of herſelf alone could muſter many more, out of houſes built on fields where corn has grown, even within the memory of man.

But to return from whence we have made this digreſſion.——Guadalupe (as I have mentioned before) appears, from the cuſtom-houſe books, to be an uniformly increaſing eſtate, yielding at preſent to this nation above a million a year, and likely in a very ſhort time to double its produce. Martinico we have had but a ſhort trial of, yet may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the profits of that iſland will at leaſt equal, though I may ſay greatly exceed, thoſe ariſing from the other; as the inhabitants are every whit as opulent, and the iſland as equally well ſettled. It is entirely incredible to ſuppoſe that the demands from Martinico, and the imports from thence, can be leſs than thoſe from Guadalupe; as no probable reaſon can be aſſigned, why

two iſlands, equally large, equally fertile, equally populous, and under the very ſame climate, ſhould any way differ in the value of their productions.

The laſt and greateſt of our glorious conqueſts, is the key of the Weſt Indies, the rich and extenſive iſland of Cuba; whoſe value is ineſtimable. If we examine its ſoil, its climate, its productions, and its ſituation, we muſt admit, that hiſtory does not afford us an account of any nation that ever made a more important conqueſt. The climate is ſo healthy, and the air ſo ſalubrious, that this iſland has univerſally obtained the title of the Montpellier of the Weſt Indies.

All the valuable productions of the torrid zone are here to be had in the greateſt abundance, and the utmoſt perfection; the choiceſt gums, odoriferous ſpices, and coſtly drugs, are to be found in its woods; the ſoil is perhaps the richeſt known in nature; the ground produces its gifts without any labour, and the only requiſite trouble is the guarding them from the excurſions of the wild cattle; of which, for food, there is exceeding plenty, as well as of hogs, and various ſorts of game; and the rivers are amply ſtocked with the fineſt fiſh. There is too, one very important conſideration in favour

vour of this highly uſeful and delightful ſpot; namely, none of the dreaded inhabitants of our uncultivated wilds upon the continent, are to be ſeen here; there is not one Indian, nor is there a Rattle-ſnake, or other deadly creature, in all the iſland, to diſturb or deſtroy the unwary traveller.

Its ſituation, whilſt we hold it, renders it totally impoſſible for the Spaniſh ſhips to trade between Spain and Mexico, California, or South America, otherwiſe than by a long, tedious, and dangerous navigation, through the South ſeas; where they will be alſo greatly expoſed to our ſhips of war and privateers. Peru and Mexico are laid open to our inroads; and the coaſts of Florida, and the opulent iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico are entirely at our mercy.

The number of inhabitants now upon this iſland, and the incredible richneſs of the planters, not only immediately open to us a prodigious market for European goods, but that demand will always be increaſing by the croud of ſettlers who will flock thither from various quarters of the globe, in order to partake in the profits ariſing from ſo pleaſant, healthy, and convenient a ſituation for traffick of every ſort; and to enjoy the fruits of their induſtry under the ineſtimable ad-

vantages

vantages of Engliſh laws; where every man's property, and perſonal liberty, are fully ſecured to him by barriers which neither honour, juſtice, nor our excellent conſtitution, will ever ſuffer to be broken.

In a few words, if Cuba were to be annexed to the Britiſh crown (and who is there could tear it from us?) we ſhould for ever have a moſt prodigious conſumption of, and a high price for, all the commodities we ſent thither; whether manufactured in the three kingdoms, in any of our colonies, or purchaſed from abroad; and, thereby, thouſands of our induſtrious poor fully employed, and comfortably maintained. Beſides which, if we add the exceedingly extenſive imports we ſhould make from thence (and thoſe too without injuring any of our other ſettlements) the increaſed revenues to the government would be, in a very few years, abſolutely immenſe, and more than anſwer for the whole loſs of our trade with Spain.

Having now briefly narrated the riſe of the war, and the value of our conqueſts, I ſhall now proceed, my countrymen, to lay down ſuch conſiderations as will ſhew the nature of that peace which would permanently tend to the ſervice of the belligerant powers in general, and ourſelves in particular:

lar: ſuch a peace as would utterly incapacitate our enemies to diſturb our harmony at home, pillage our plantations, or interrupt our commerce hereafter: ſuch a peace as is conformable to our commercial intereſts, and the united voice of the nation, and would be gladly accepted of by our enemies, in caſe they did not hope, by their refinements in politics, to over-reach our negotiators.

As the oppreſſions of our planters on the continent of America firſt gave riſe to the war, it is abſolutely neceſſary that ſuch regulations ſhould, in the firſt place, be eſtabliſhed, as may prevent the like miſeries for the future. And, in order to obtain this ſalutary purpoſe, it is not only proper that the French be for ever excluded out of North America, but that the limits between the Britiſh and Spaniſh colonies on that continent, be ſettled by boundaries that cannot be miſtaken; and that a large uninhabited waſte, in that immenſe tract, conſiſting at leaſt of two degrees, or one hundred and twenty nautical miles, be every where deſcribed between their reſpective dominions, and in which void (if I may ſo call it) it ſhall not be lawful for either party to ſettle. The encroaching nature of the French makes it abſolutely neceſſary to baniſh them off

that

that continent intirely; and the projected large uninhabited wild between the Engliſh and Spaniards will prevent all ſudden heats and haſty quarrels, and leave no room for diſputes between the ſubjects of the two crowns concerning property and boundaries.

Our next conſideration ought to be, our allies on the continent, who have all behaved with a becoming fidelity. In the firſt place, we ought not to neglect that opportunity which Providence preſents us with, of raiſing in his Pruſſian majeſty an unſurmountable barrier againſt the growing power of the houſe of Bourbon on the continent of Europe. We ſhould never forget that France diſcourages and excludes our commerce where-ever her arms and influence can prevail, and that ſhe is for-ever reſtleſs in forming ſchemes calculated to monopolize for herſelf every branch of traffick; and that we can no-way ſo well oppoſe in Germany this our natural rival, as by encouraging the Pruſſian hero to continue in perfect amity with ourſelves, and thereby wholly detach him from the friendſhip of that aſpiring family.

The prince of Heſſe is alſo well intitled to our particular care. The ſubjects of this prince ought to be fully indemnified by the

French king, and his ſerene highneſs himſelf amply rewarded for his extraordinary fidelity, when his dominions were ſubjected to the moſt lamentable circumſtances. It is moſt certainly our duty as well as our intereſt to increaſe to the utmoſt of our power the dignity and importance of this moſt ſerene family; for which purpoſe, we ſhould procure for his highneſs a ſeat in the electoral college, together with a greater extenſion of dominion and revenue, in order to ſupport this new acceſſion of honour with a becoming ſplendor. This proviſion for the prince of Heſſe, and the ſettling of the Bohemian crown in the houſe of Brandenburgh, would fully and effectually anſwer thoſe ends which I propoſed, as it would render two powers, by intereſt bound, ſufficiently able to prevent the growth of French influence in the Germanic empire: The methods to effect theſe important propoſitions, and that without injuring any power whatever, I ſhall plainly ſhew hereafter.

When in Heſſe and Pruſſia we have raiſed a power ſufficient to check the progreſs of the court of Verſailles in Germany, and thereby proved our dignity and importance in Europe, we ought alſo to give the world a demonſtration of our naval ſuperiority to

the combined ſtrength of France and Spain, by refuſing to cede thoſe valuable conqueſts with which the Almighty has been pleaſed to reward the valour of our undaunted compatriots.

But though I would have my country aſſert her dignity and unrivalled dominion on the ocean, yet I would not be underſtood to mean, that there are not other reaſons, and thoſe ſuperior ones, in point of commercial advantages, for ſuch an abſolute refuſal.

The condition of our ſugar iſlands, now worn out and thinned (for want of manuring) by perpetual culture, and the conſequent increaſed price demanded by the planters for their ſugars, lay us under an indiſpenſable neceſſity to retain Martinique and Guadalupe. The reaſon is ſelf-evident; ſugar-cane can be raiſed at almoſt one quarter of the trouble and expence that muſt be employed on the ſame quantity of ground in the ſickly, and (compared with the others) ſterile iſland of Jamaica. Although theſe ſugars are inferior in colour to thoſe of Jamaica, yet they excel them in ſweetneſs; and nothing can be more convenient for this commercial nation, than a complete aſſortment of that uſeful commodity; uſeful I call

it, becauſe now ſo luxuriouſly become a neceſſary article of life. The ſugars of Cuba will gratify the niceſt eye and moſt delicate palate; while thoſe of Guadalupe and Martinico will ſatisfy perſons whoſe circumſtances oblige them to take up with a cheaper commodity; and our antient colonies will furniſh out the tables of thoſe of middling fortune.

The utility of retaining all our inſular acquiſitions in the weſtern world is ſo exceedingly obvious, that it is amazing that the wit of man is able to ſuggeſt any pretence againſt ſo national a meaſure. But nevertheleſs, ſome there are who affirm, that the retention of theſe iſlands will oblige us to keep up ſo large a force to inſure their obedience, that we ſhall reap no benefit from refuſing to cede them.

In anſwer to this, I can aſſure my countrymen, that by much the greater part of the inhabitants of Martinico and Guadalupe are ſo perfectly well pleaſed with the change of their condition, that they have not the leaſt inclination to return to their former maſter; and indeed, was it poſſible that they ſhould act ſo totally inconſiſtent with that deſire after civil and religious liberty which is ſo natural to the human breaſt,

and

and which may be gratified where-ever Britiſh laws prevail, as to wiſh for ſuch a change, yet this would be no argument for the giving up of either place ; as I can aſſert, from very good authority, that a ſingle regiment conſtantly kept up in Martinico, and another in Guadalupe (the expence of which will be very inconſiderable for places of ſuch vaſt importance) will be ſufficient to ſupport our government there. In regard to Cuba, the advantages ariſing from that invaluable iſland would even anſwer the expence (200,000 l. per annum) of ten regiments. To defray this, ſome public beneficial employment might be found there for the ſoldiers ; or a ſmall duty might be laid on rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, in the planter's hands, allowing him a drawback of the whole duties of ſo much of his ſtock as is imported into Great Britain.

It is equally idle to alledge, as the writers of the Auditor and Briton do, that the retention of theſe conqueſts will produce a confederacy of all nations againſt us. This is a mere chimæra! for which there can be no manner of foundation, as there is no power in Europe, beſides thoſe of France and Spain, that are immediately intereſted in the matter—Nay, and even admitting [what is by no means the caſe], that all the maritime

time powers (for no no others can have any thing to fear from it) ſhould aſſociate againſt us, their whole united force would not be able to cope with our navy.

The inference which theſe miniſterial writers have thought fit to draw from theſe falſe propoſitions is, however, extremely alarming, as it ſtrikes at the root of our civil and religious liberties. It is no other than the doctrine of deſpotic power; which the preſent government, I am certain, never authorized them to recommend to the people, and which the former are too truly Britiſh to adopt, even if it could be ever ſo eaſily put into execution. The aſſertions of theſe audacious writers are, " that it is pro-
" per to ſave us againſt our wills from the
" dangers into which we are deſirous to
" plunge ourſelves, by our unmeaſurable
" ambition and inſatiable avarice."

If what is aſſerted by theſe weekly diſturbers of the public repoſe is to be regarded, it is lawful, nay neceſſary, at this period of time, to introduce into Britain an arbitary power [how much muſt ſuch unconſtitutional propoſitions diſpleaſe the beſt of princes!] by law enabled to contemn the opinion of our merchants; to deſpiſe the united ſentiments of the magiſtracy of this

great

great metropolis; to hold them, when giving their advice, as an officious intruding mob, who are attempting to thruſt themſelves into a greater ſhare of importance than is due to them in the public adminiſtration; and finally, to controul the univerſal judgment of the nation with reſpect to the high concerns of peace and war.

Far be it from me, my countrymen, to form a wiſh of wreſting the prerogative of making peace and war from the hands it is already in; our conſtitution has placed it where your unanimous voice would have now lodged it, if the laws had never done it; it is the birthright of the ſovereign to proclaim the one, and declare the other; it is the birthright of the people to offer their advice in both: As we are certain the prince will not ſtretch that prerogative beyond the intention for which it was given, the ſubject ſhould be cautious not to carry the freedom of his ſpeech beyond what truth and decency allow; all within that pale is proper to be laid before the throne; all beyond it, is proſtituting the name of liberty, to veil over that of licentiouſneſs; and the preſumption ſhould be puniſhed as it deſerves.

Let us then, ye people of England, with decency declare our deteſtation of the doc-

trines broached by theſe wretched ſcribblers —Doctrines ſo highly inconſiſtent with the reſpect juſtly due to names once reverenced by our mighty anceſtors!—Doctrines utterly deſtructive of the glory and felicity of this kingdom!——Let us unite in favour of the reſpectable perſonages whom thoſe infamous authors have attempted to vilify and traduce, and let us endeavour to prevail with thoſe entruſted with the public concerns, to pay ſuch a deference to their opinions as the importance of the caſe now under conſideration requires; and to liſten to their counſels, as being the genuine ſentiments of a whole nation.

I muſt treſpaſs, my countymen, a little longer on your patience, if dwelling on a ſubject of ſuch great importance may be deemed treſpaſſing, in order to ſhew the miſchievous conſequence of this argument of the Auditor's and the Briton's. Indeed, if there was any juſt foundation for that ſyſtem which they have choſen to adopt, it is not fit that we or our poſterity ſhould reaſon on political ſubjects, or any public affairs whatever for the future, but be henceforth utterly deprived of that invaluable liberty of expreſſing our ſentiments with a becoming boldneſs, and a decent ſpirit of true patriotiſm. In ſuch a caſe, the opinion of thoſe

at the helm, and that of the prime miniſter in particular, ought always to determine our judgment, even though the moſt infamous of mankind ſhould ever happen to climb (as has been the caſe in paſt ages) to that high and favoured ſtation. In one word, if the reaſoning of theſe writers is juſtifiable, we muſt no longer call ourſelves by the much-revered and much-loved name of free born Britons, but tamely ſubmit to the moſt Iſraelitiſh ſlavery which any Egyptian officer of ſtate ſhall chuſe to impoſe upon us. I do not take upon me to ſay, I cannot even ſuppoſe, that the authors of ſuch arbitrary tenets are patronized by any perſon in power; yet as ſuch an aſſertion has been confidently propagated by moſt of the antiminiſterial writers, and as ſuch aſſertion has not been diſavowed (however untrue) by the ſuppoſed patron, a regard for our civil and religious liberties, for our moſt invaluable privileges, juſtifies an univerſal aſſociation to decry and expoſe doctrines ſo heterodox and retrograde to our happy conſtitution, and ſo pregnant with ruin to our poſterity.

But perhaps, my countrymen, while I thus ſtrive to promote the univerſal good of the community, to lay before you your real intereſts, and exhort you to tread in the foot-

ſteps of your glorious anceſtors; to imitate the example of our heroic forefathers, who on every occaſion were always ready to give the moſt ſignal proofs of their attachment to the principles of liberty and property engraven in their hearts, and indiſſolubly mixed with their vital marrow; I muſt incur the reſentment of the authors of the Auditors and Britons, and their ſuppoſed patron, if it is poſſible for them to have a patron; I muſt ſubject myſelf to be treated as a madman; becauſe of my concurring with you in thoſe patriotic principles on which theſe infamous authors ſtamp the deſignation of madneſs: But I hope you will conſider, that an oppoſition to meaſures, when thoſe meaſures are contrary to the general ſenſe of the nation, is moſt intimately interwoven with our civil conſtitution, and moſt ſtrongly blended with thoſe principles on which that glorious revolution is founded, that happily bequeathed to us the illuſtrious family which has ſo long, and with ſo much juſtice and renown, ſwayed the ſceptre over theſe happy kingdoms; and that you cannot, without departing from the wiſe maxims of thoſe heroes, give up that privilege which you derive from them of examining the public direction; cautioning, when affairs of great importance are on the carpet, the ſervants of the public; and giving your opinion of

their

their proceedings and acts of power in a decent and becoming manner, suitable to the character you bear of a polite and wise, as well as a free nation.

If we have a privilege at all, or in any case, to oppose an administration, we must be well intitled at all times to discuss our right to that opposition; and then minutely to inquire whether such circumstances and conditions exist, as call on us to appear in behalf of our country, and rescue her from any real or apparent hazard. Tyrants only desire to abridge the freedom of their subjects in this respect; and we can never dread our being deprived of such a valuable privilege, under a royal family whose accession to the throne arose from a spirited exertion of this very right; and in the reign of a king who glories in the name of Briton, whose virtues in domestic life are an amiable example to his subjects, and whose great and noble sentiments in his public capacity bespeak him to be formed by Providence to reign only over a free and glorious people.

Thus secure in the best of monarchs, let us unite in despising and opposing any writers who may attempt to disperse doctrines that are the genuine offspring of despotism, the arbitrary sentiments of Turkish politics,

and the true and fundamental principles of Highland chieftainſhip. I am told the author of the Briton is a Scotchman——I believe no Engliſhman would recommend ſuch a ſyſtem——Does he think to write himſelf into favour? Surely there is not a North Briton in power would patronize ſo ſelf-intereſted a ſcribbler! I rather fear he is ſome lurking emiſſary of our perfidious foe, who would endeavour to foment a difference between the natives of England and Scotland, and inſidiouſly ſtrive to throw an odium on a worthy and illuſtrious perſonage, by advancing doctrines which cannot but remind us, that the heads of the northern clans, in general, imbibe with their milk a ſet of ſupercilious deluſions, totally inconſiſtent with all the arrangements neceſſary to be obſerved in every free ſtate, and diametrically oppoſite to every principle revered by us. Our government is calculated for this ſalutary purpoſe, that the ſage deliberations of our councils ſhall be as exactly as poſſible conſonant with, but never contrary to, the voice of the nation. Thoſe Lilliputian grandees, the northern chieftains, are taught to look on the bulk of mankind, the largeſt part of every nation, as beings in ſtation ſo much beneath them, that a friendly communication with ſuch inferior exiſtences is intirely unſuitable to perſons of their high rank,

who,

who, by their elevated birth, are well intitled to deſpiſe, maltreat, and deſpotically govern, every perſon that cannot boaſt of ſuch a lineage and connexions. What muſt be our fate, I repeat, my countrymen, what muſt be our fate, if one of theſe Lilliputian grandees, ſo brought up, ſhould ever approach our * * * * *, or infect with his envenomed breath thoſe reſolutions that muſt, to lateſt poſterity, fix the character of this generation.

Having ſufficiently ſhewn the deſtructive tendency of theſe principles, I ſhall proceed to the grand ſubject of peace.

There never was even a tolerable peace made contrary to the univerſal conceptions of this kingdom; and there never was a time when England was more replete with men of ſenſe and underſtanding; gentlemen by education, ſtrength of genius, and ſolid learning, enabled to make a due judgment of the preſent circumſtances of their own country, and thoſe of their enemies; nor can any æra be fixed on, when the people were more unanimous than they now are to reject their enemies terms, unleſs the propoſals be made with a due regard to the great advantages that have, during this long and bloody war, been gained by Britiſh valour.

No

No peace can be advantageous to us, whereby we are deprived of our Weſt Indian conqueſts, and conſequently of the pecuniary reſources which would ſoon diſcharge us from the enormous debts accumulated by acquiring them; nor can any one be beneficial, which gives the French permiſſion, *on any terms whatever*, to hold any ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies, as they will be thereby in the condition, when occaſion offers, once more to cabal with the eaſtern rajas, and incite them to give a looſe to the ſame moſt ſavage and inhuman paſſions which they with ſo much barbarity, and ſo fatally, diſcharged upon our unhappy countrymen at Calcutta. What Engliſhman can read the accounts of thoſe inhumanities that have been practiſed by French influence on his countrymen in Aſia and America, without feeling the ſtrongeſt emotions of reſentment againſt thoſe who would adviſe ſuch barbarous and deſtructive meaſures as might arm our enemies againſt us in the eaſt, furniſh them with freſh opportunities to renew the ſame cruelties, and once more to ſet up their aboliſhed power in the weſtern world; while England is left to mourn that vaſt effuſion of blood and treaſure which have been laviſhed ſince the revolution, through the deſtructive ſchemes of the ambitious houſe of Bourbon.

I would

I would yet hope, my countrymen, that there does not breathe that Briton who would be weak enough to adviſe a reſtitution of ſo many dear-bought acquiſitions; and, in point of importance, more than Alexandrian or Cæſarian conqueſts.——And for what in return?---For nothing!---I repeat it again, For nothing in return! becauſe the advantages of traffick *ſaid* to be agreed to be ceded to us *are* nothing.

Will our enemies grant us ſettlements on the Bays of Honduras and Campeachy? they cannot hinder us: theſe Bays are not theirs; they belong to free and independent Indians, who are deſirous of our ſettling amongſt them, and will admit no Spaniards to be ſeen in their country. Will they give us Florida, and part of Louiſiana? we can take the whole, or any part, of theſe countries from them, when we pleaſe: Any one of our colonies, Virginia, for example, without the aid of the mother-country, is able, of herſelf, to make this conqueſt, whenever ſhe is permitted. Will they renounce their claim to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland? our naval ſuperiority debars them from appearing in thoſe ſeas: in fact, they may as well pretend to grant us the Tower of London (and who is there diſputes our excluſive right to that aſtoniſhing arſenal?) as

to beſtow on us the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, or to allow us the ſole and excluſive right of fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland. Will they grant us the freedom of their ports to carry in our goods duty-free? a mighty conceſſion indeed, to a nation that can blow thoſe port-towns into the air whenever they pleaſe! a nation that can detain from them thoſe treaſures that enable them to make purchaſes of any ſort! an injured and enraged nation, that have an undoubted right to reparation for the various depredations that they have committed on our fellow-ſubjects in and ſince the days of the glorious Elizabeth.

I would not be underſtood, that we ought really to put theſe things into execution; but it is my meaning, that though we made no reſtitution at all to the Spaniard, yet, when it is conſidered, that we can in a manner deprive them of ſubſiſtence, not only lock from them, but appropriate to ourſelves, if we pleaſe, the whole of their American treaſures; and, as lords of the ocean, even prevent them from ſpreading their ſails on that enriching element: I ſay, theſe things conſidered, it will appear that our friendſhip is of infinitely more value to them, than this ſmall privilege can poſſibly be to us; and the more ſo, as by one ſtroke of politics, they might

might prevent all advantages that could any ways ariſe to us therefrom; namely, by prohibiting their ſubjects from making any purchaſe from thoſe of Great Britain, and thereby throwing all the advantages of freight, *&c.* (admitting they ſtill made uſe of Britiſh commodities) into the hands of the French and the Dutch.

In the few laſt preceding paragraphs I have conſidered *Spain* only, in theſe talked-of reſtitutions; but what ſhall we ſay, my countrymen, if any conceſſions are intended, as is reported, in favour of FRANCE, with reſpect to the fiſhery? But this can ſurely be *but* report! becauſe this ſtep was held ſo hatefully unconſtitutional in the reign of George I. (and ſurely what was *then* unnational muſt be ſo *now)* that the Earl of Oxford was impeached, amongſt other articles, for allowing the *French* ſome privileges on the banks of Newfoundland. Indeed, there have been treaties ſince, by which our perfidious enemies have been granted theſe advantages; and on the ſtrength of which example alone it is, that it is now ſo confidently aſſerted that thoſe benefits are to be renewed to them. But theſe inconſiderate talkers ſhould recollect, that it has been always the ſenſe of the nation, that thoſe privileges were againſt the intereſt of Great

Britain, and that they could be warranted only by our never having it in our power, ſince the reign of Queen Ann to the preſent time, to grant to our enemies what peace we ſhould think proper to *preſcribe*.

Senegal and Goree are ſo cloſely connected together, the ſafety of the one depends ſo much on the other, that both of theſe fortreſſes muſt, in true policy, remain ſolely with us, or ſolely with them: and the gum-trade depending on the poſſeſſion of theſe places (thereby commanding the trade of the adjacent countries) renders them an acquiſition of too great importance to be parted with.

It may, indeed, be advanced, that this will throw the gum and ſlave trade, as far as it reſpects France as the purchaſer, principally into the hands of the Dutch: but be it ſo. Thoſe artful and ſelf-intereſted people will make them pay high enough for thoſe commodities, and we ſhall thereby gain, the only point indeed to be contended for, the ineſtimable advantage to our country of under-ſelling them in the chiefeſt of their manufactures. The author of the Royal Chronicle, or Britiſh Evening Poſt, (perhaps by much the moſt entertaining paper now publiſhed) on Friday the 19th inſtant

ſtant (November), judiciouſly remarks, the evident utility of Goree and Senegal, by acquainting us, that, before we poſſeſſed thoſe places, we gave the Dutch for gums the enormous price of 13 *l. per* hogſhead; and that ſince we made thoſe acquiſitions, we now import them ourſelves at the ſmall expence of 50 *s.*——If this is not an evident proof of the advantages ariſing to us from thoſe conqueſts, I know not what is!

Victorious in every part of the globe, it ſeems to me an indignity offered to this nation, as conquerors, to think of ſigning any peace with our vanquiſhed foes, till they have made us (to uſe a term of their own) the *amende honorable*, by publicly acknowleging, to every court in Europe, that they were the aggreſſors; and, without receiving the leaſt provocation, the ſole cauſe of the preſent war, and all its fatal and inhuman conſequences.—Surely no impartial perſon can think this an oppreſſive reparation!——Yet no ſuch equitable ſtep appears to be taking; notwithſtanding a peace is ſaid to be ſo near, that the rumours thereof are almoſt as loud as the murmurs of the people againſt it.

If the practices and cuſtoms of former miniſters had been always eſteemed a proper juſtification for the purſuance of the ſame

meaſures by preſent ones, the conſequence muſt have been that none of our grievances had ever been redreſſed. Oppreſſive as the ſtar-chamber and the court of high commiſſion were, yet the miniſters of Charles I. ſet up the ſame plea of example, and endeavoured to defend thoſe deſtructive inſtitutions by pleading that they were coeval with our conſtitution. The practice of arbitrary impriſonment is to be found in every period of hiſtory previous to the moſt ineſtimable act of Habeas Corpus. Reaſon, and the circumſtances of the caſe, ſhould be the only direction for public meaſures in all free governments; it therefore abſolutely follows, that cuſtom ſhould never be pleaded in caſes of national concern; but when the clamours of a people, in reſpect to any affair of univerſal importance, are loud and general, no ſtep ſhould be taken therein, that cannot be undone, till they are made perfectly acquainted, at leaſt, with the out-lines, and thoroughly ſatisfied of their utility.

This premiſed, how comes it that when the public diſcontent is ſo univerſally great, no ſatisfaction is given to ſuch a free and loyal nation, with reſpect to the terms offered by our enemies, and intended to be accepted by us? Why are the agents of our enemies treated with reſpect, and our enquiries

anſwered

anſwered with ſilence and contempt? Why are our rendezvouſes broke up, and our warlike preparations in a manner at a ſtand, before we know on what conſiderations our friendſhip is to be purchaſed by our obſtinate oppreſſors? Are we to ſit down contented with the injuries which we have received, or are we to do more? Are we to reſtore what we have ſo dearly purchaſed in the long courſe of a juſt war, and grant to the injurers that reparation which is the right of the injured party only to inſiſt on? Why are we left in this uncertainty on matters of ſuch importance to us and our poſterity?

Though the authors of the Auditor and the Briton have infamouſly wrote in ſupport of the moſt deſpotic principles, yet I will not think they had any motive for it, but the falſe opinion that it would ingratiate them in the favour of a nobleman, who, I will venture to affirm, muſt be utterly averſe to ſuch an abſolute ſyſtem. I will not think that this ſeeming contemptuous taciturnity is the effect of Highland politics; I will not ſuppoſe that this complaiſance to our natural rivals is the effect of that friendſhip that formerly ſubſiſted between the royal houſe of France and the nobles of Scotland; I will not imagine that any of our Scots grandees interpoſe in favour of their antient allies, in

order to ſcreen them from our juſt reſentment: no, I will not aſcribe this ill-boding phænomenon to any ſuch cauſes——I am certain they could not a moment exiſt in a land of liberty like this. I will impute it only to a too implicit regard for cuſtom, which requires but a minute's reflection to remove.

In all public embarraſſments our anceſtors ever had their eyes on the capitol; and thoſe miniſters that acted on the moſt prudent principles always conducted themſelves by the opinion of her moſt reſpectable members. It is now happy, extremely happy for us, that this great city is ſo full of wiſe and underſtanding citizens, directed by a Common Council and board of Aldermen of ſuch uncommon abilities, and well enabled by the moſt extenſive intelligence to make a proper judgment of the ſituation of our affairs at home and abroad. Let us reſpectfully lay our griefs before this important body of patriots, propoſe to them our fears, and claim their interpoſition with their and our ſuperiors, to lay before the people, without the leaſt reſerve, the ſubject of their apprehenſions. Their intereſt is ſo ſtrongly connected with ours, that we cannot doubt of their patronizing a cauſe of ſuch importance to this commercial kingdom: and ours ſo firmly united with theirs, that I cannot doubt but every true-

true-born Engliſhman, every lover of his country, will heartily join in thoſe meaſures that ſhall be judged, by this reſpectable body, neceſſary to preſerve the nation from that reproach and confuſion that muſt be the certain conſequences of ill-managed negotiations, at ſo remarkable an æra; the dreadful point of time, when England's honour and important exiſtence muſt be firmly eſtabliſhed, or for ever loſt! Let us candidly and decently communicate to each other our ideas on this intereſting ſubject, conformably to the character we now bear of a free and polite nation; let us manage our diſcuſſions with becoming attention, and execute our reſolutions with that courageous ardour for which our anceſtors have been ſo juſtly extolled.

I have hitherto, my countrymen, endeavoured to vindicate our rights and liberties as free-born Engliſhmen: I have ſhewn the power and conſequence of the Britiſh nation, and the low condition to which its enemies are moſt deſervedly reduced; I have inconteſtibly evinced that we have it in our power, inſtead of *treating* and *negotiating*, to *dictate* a peace. Nevertheleſs, as it is conſiſtent with the magnanimity of conquerors, and incumbent on us as a people of humanity, to put an end to a war ſo ruinous in its

its conſequences to the race of mankind; and as it is poſſible the articles of the intended peace may not be rendered public to the nation, till it is too late to retract, if any of them ſhould afterwards be found incompatible with the public intereſt, I ſhall lay before my countrymen a plan of ſuch a peace as would vindicate our honour, yet leave our enemies poſſeſſed of more than their treacherous and inhuman conduct deſerves.

Art. I. The French and Spaniards ſhall cede to Great Britain the whole of that part of North America which lies under and to the northward of the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude, with liberty to us to ſettle on the whole of the lands ſo ceded, from ſea to ſea: and this boundary ſhall be ſettled by an equal number of French and Engliſh mathematicians, with an Engliſh preſident, who ſhall have the caſting vote.

This honourable advantage is due to us as being the nation in whoſe favour providence has determined the appeal (as all wars ſhould be ſuch) to the tribunal of the Moſt High.

Art. II. The French and Spaniards ſhall cede to Great Britain the whole of that part of Florida lying to the eaſtward of the Miſ-

ſiſippi

ſiſippi or Ohio (for I regard theſe rivers but as one, the former being only a continuation of the latter) which ſhall be the weſtern boundary of thoſe parts of the Britiſh dominions (on that continent) which lay to the ſouthward of the ſaid twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude mentioned in Art. I.

Art. III. The French or Spaniards ſhall no where ſettle on North America, under or to the northward of the twenty-ſixth degree of northern latitude.

Art. IV. The Engliſh, no more than the French or Spaniards, ſhall ſettle upon the lands that lay under the twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh degrees of northern latitude.

Art. V. Notwithſtanding the Engliſh, French, and Spaniards, ſhall not ſettle upon or inhabit the ſaid lands lying under the ſaid twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh degrees of northern latitude, nevertheleſs the Engliſh, from their ſettlements bordering on the North, and the Spaniards and French, from their ſettlements bordering on the South, of the ſaid two degrees, ſhall have liberty of entering the ſame for the advantage of fiſhing, cutting wood, or any other purpoſe, provided neither party enter into the ſaid two degrees farther than they ſhall be able

to return back, to their ſaid reſpective ſettlements, the day ſucceeding ſuch entrance; and it ſhall not only be unlawful for either party to make any ſettlement on the lands under the ſaid twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh degrees, but upon a ſearch to be made for that purpoſe, by proper perſons appointed by each party, throughout the ſaid degrees (as far as they extend along the ſettlements of either) all houſes, huts, or Indian wigwams, found under the ſaid two degrees, ſhall be deſtroyed, and never rebuilt.

By the foregoing articles the intelligent reader will readily perceive that a much greater tract of land is left to our enemies in North America than they are entitled to, or could reaſonably expect; and by the four laſt articles it will be eaſily ſeen, that all pretences to quarrels about boundaries will be utterly removed, as an uninhabited ſpace of two degrees, or one hundred and twenty nautical miles, will divide and ſeparate the ſettlements of Great Britain from thoſe belonging to her enemies.

Art. VI. The Spaniards ſhall acknowlege, by writing in due form completed, our right to the log-wood trade, and lands on the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, and the independency of our Indian allies there.

Art.

Art. VII. The French and Spaniards ſhall acknowledge our excluſive right to all the iſlands and bays of North America to the northward of the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude, and to all the fiſheries dependent thereon in the main, or on the ſhores, ſpecially naming the iſlands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland.

Art. VIII. The French and Spaniards ſhall ſolemnly acknowledge the right of Great Britain to a free navigation in the gulph of Mexico, and river Miſſiſippi.

The advantages ariſing to Great Britain from the three preceding articles are too obvious to be pointed out, and yet are ſo reaſonable, that our enemies ought to have no peace without ſuch conceſſions.

Art. IX. Great Britain ſhall guarantee to the houſe of Bourbon the two valuable iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico, and the other poſſeſſions that ſhall be left to them in America by virtue of this treaty: and in conſideration thereof, the French and Spaniards ſhall immediately evacuate the Portugueſe territories, and indemnify that and the Britiſh crown for their expences in defending the kingdom of Portugal.

As we could take Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico whenever we pleaſed, the advantages of guaranteeing thoſe two iſlands to our enemies will more than compenſate for their evacuation of Portugal, even ſuppoſing they could conquer, and afterwards retain that kingdom.

Art. X. Belleiſle ſhall be exchanged for Minorca, or the Engliſh ſhall retain Belleiſle, and Minorca ſhall remain with France, at the option of the French king.

I am aware that ſome objection may be made to this article; but it may be neceſſary to pay ſome compliment to the French monarch; and there remains no doubt but the iſland of Minorca would be ceded to us, as being, by its ſituation, of leſs utility to France than that of Belleiſle.

Art. XI. Great Britain ſhall for ever enjoy all her acquiſitions in Africa, and the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

I hope I have already ſhewn the utility of this article, and that there is not a ſingle true-born Engliſhman who can diſſent therefrom.

Art.

Art. XII. The French ſhall renounce their guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and ſolemnly engage never more to intermeddle in German differences.

This is the treaty whereby the preſent conſtitution of the Germanic body is eſtabliſhed, and the rights and privileges of the ſeveral princes of that empire are definitely ſettled; and may not improperly be called the magna charta of Germany. France, by being one of the guarantees of that treaty, takes an opportunity, whenever differences ariſe in Germany, to ſet herſelf up for a judge, and marches large armies over the Rhine, in order to ſupport that ſide which ſhe thinks proper to favour: the conſtant conſequence of which has been, that theſe quarrels, thus enflamed, and which otherwiſe might have been eaſily ſettled at the diet, or by amicable negotiations, have occaſioned a vaſt effuſion of blood and treaſure in Europe, to the great annoyance of Chriſtendom. France herſelf, if ſhe were to reflect with humanity, and any degree of true policy, could not object to this article, as from theſe officious interpoſitions ſhe has, from time to time, exhauſted an immenſe quantity of treaſure, and needleſsly thrown away the lives of thouſands of her braveſt ſoldiers.

Art.

Art. XIII. The French ſhall fully indemnify the inhabitants of Hanover and Heſſe, for all their damages ſuſtained during this war.

Art XIV. The emperor, empreſs-queen, and elector of Saxony, ſhall engage for themſelves, and allies, to vote, and uſe their influence in the diet, that the young prince of Heſſe be declared an elector of the holy Roman empire; and that the biſhopric of Munſter, and its domains, ſhall be ſecularized and ſettled in the ſaid elector and his heirs for ever, their poſſeſſion being to commence at the death of the preſent elector of Cologn, now biſhop of that See: or, if the preſent biſhop will agree to reſign, he ſhall be allowed the full ſum of 20,000 *l.* *per annum* ſterling, during his life; and in caſe of a refuſal of ſuch reſignation, that the prince of Heſſe and his heirs ſhall receive the ſaid ſum during the life of the ſaid biſhop; and at that period be put into poſſeſſion of the biſhopric, ſo ſecularized as aforeſaid:— the ſaid 20,000 *l.* *per annum* to be paid to either of the ſaid parties by the court of France, as an indemnification for the great loſſes ſuſtained by Heſſe, thro' their means, during this war.

By this article no one power in Germany will be aggrieved, as the elector of Cologn is biſhop of Munſter, not by virtue of his firſt title, but by the ſuffrages of the chapter of Munſter.

Art. XV. The kingdom of Bohemia, and conſequently the vote thereof, ſhall be ceded by the empreſs-queen for ever to the king of Pruſſia, who ſhall be aſſiſted, in caſe of refuſal, by the courts of France, Spain, and England, to oblige the empreſs-queen to ſuch ceſſion. His Pruſſian majeſty, on the other hand, ſhall renounce the vote of Brandenburgh for ever.

By this article his Pruſſian majeſty will be rewarded for his fidelity, the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany greatly ſtrengthened, the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and the Roman Catholick intereſt, proportionably retrenched, and the votes of the electoral college no ways increaſed.

Art. XVI. The whole of Sileſia ſhall be ceded by the empreſs-queen to the king of Pruſſia; which, together with the Bohemian crown, and his other poſſeſſions within the empire, that he enjoyed at the commencement of this war, ſhall be guaranteed to him by the crowns of Great Britain, the emperor and empire, and the empreſs-queen.

Art.

Art. XVII. The elector of Saxony ſhall be reſtored to his electorate, but without indemnification for his loſſes, which ſhall be guaranteed to him by the guarantees in the preceding article.

By this article of reſtoring the elector of Saxony, it is intended that the empire be thereby, as near as the afore mentioned alterations will admit, ſet on the ſame footing as at the treaty of Weſtphalia; at the ſame time having an eye to juſtice, by not indemnifying the elector of Saxony for his loſſes this war, on account of his being originally an aggreſſor, by his private aſſociation againſt Pruſſia with the empreſs-queen, the late empreſs of Ruſſia, and the court of France.

Art. XVIII. It ſhall not be lawful for France, for ever hereafter, to have more ſhips of war of the line at one time than twenty, and the ſame number of frigates; and Spain ſhall be alſo circumſcribed to the very ſame number.

The neceſſity and importance of this article are ſo obvious as to need no illuſtration.

Art. XIX. A full and perfect amity ſhall be reſtored between the three crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and their reſpective

reſpective ſubjects ſhall trade, and entertain correſpondence with each other, as they might have done at or before the commencement of hoſtilities.

Having laid before my countrymen a treaty of peace which I apprehend would be conformable to their deſires, and highly advantageous to this kingdom; I ſhall now proceed to conſider the articles which appeared firſt in the London Chronicle, and ſince in the reſt of the public papers; the conſequences of a ſeparate peace with France and Spain; briefly ſupport the plan I have laid down, and then conclude.

I think no *ſeparate* treaty of peace between England, France, and Spain, would be honourable or advantageous to this nation; for muſt not our hands be tied up thereby from aſſiſting our allies in Germany, equal to what their moſt emergent caſes may require? and the prince whom our country has delighted to call its magnanimous ally, be detached, in part, from our intereſt, if not totally alienated from us? No treaty can be laſting, or agreeable to us, where France is permitted, under any conditions or reſtraints whatever, to neſtle herſelf in the Eaſt Indies, or admitted to a ſhare of our fiſhery. Conditions not to fortify at all, or to fortify

in a ſtipulated manner, appear abſurd and ridiculous, with a nation of ſuch a flagitious character as that of our enemy. The fortifications of Dunkirk are a ſtanding evidence of the inſignificancy of ſuch agreements; and thoſe now ſaid to be propoſed on that head, will only ſerve to give a freſh proof of French inſincerity. On the contrary, the reaſonableneſs of the articles which I have laid down is ſo very apparent, that hardly any objection can be foreſeen to them. Nor does it appear to me poſſible to form a material alteration in them, without affording our inſidious enemies an opportunity to rekindle the flames of war ſo ſoon as they have repaired their finances and marine, and tranſmitted to America and the Eaſt Indies ſuch a number of ſoldiers as they ſhall judge ſufficient to over-run our territories there, which in times of peace are moſtly inhabited by mercantile ſubjects and farmers, who may be quickly ſubdued by ſo great a military body as the French king, even in thoſe times, always keeps up whereever his dominions extend. We are therefore indiſpenſably obliged, in order to prevent the ruin of our colonies on the continent, to drive them to ſuch a diſtance from our ſubjects there, that there may be no room left for future quarrels, and conſequently a future war.

And,

And, as I have ſhewn before, unleſs we retain the Weſt Indian iſlands, we have no adequate reparation for the vaſt expence occaſioned to our native country by the unmeaſurable ambition of our foes. Thus we are called on by the voice of juſtice to retain thoſe ſettlements, from which only we can draw a fund to pay thoſe debts that were contracted for our ſelf-defence. Mercy to ourſelves and our poſterity forbids us to allow the ſubjects of the houſe of Bourbon to approach any-where ſo near our people, as to have an opportunity again to harraſs and oppreſs them.

The aſpiring temper of the Bourbon family renders it abſolutely neceſſary to keep our arms in our hands, till we have ſubjected them to ſuch regulations as will enſure our own future peace and that of our poſterity. If we leave Louiſiana to the French, they will pour into it a greater number of ſoldiers than they have ever done yet; form ſtronger alliances with the numerous tribes of Indians that inhabit it; intermarry (as is their cuſtom) with thoſe tawny nations; convert thoſe ſavages to their more ſavage faith; and at once, without giving us the ſmalleſt warning, break in on our unarmed and unſuſpecting ſettlers, and, like an inundation, ſpread a rapid and unceaſing deſtruc-

tion through all our continental American colonies. From their former errors, they'll learn a more cautious conduct, and ſhow no diſſatisfaction, till they are ready to ſtrike. Thus they have ever uſed their own ſubjects the Hugonots; and thus, if they have it in their power, depend upon it, they will ſerve the ſubjects of Great Britain.

The writers in ſupport of the articles which have appeared in the papers, and eſpecially the Auditor, have greatly enhanced the importance of Canada, in order to make it appear, that the ceſſion of that country is very highly to the intereſt of Great Britain; but (new as it may ſeem) I can affirm to my countrymen, that Canada is by no means ſo valuable in reſpect to its fur trade (notwithſtanding it is its moſt ſtaple commodity) as has been ſo univerſally propagated, and almoſt as univerſally believed. My reaſon is, becauſe that that trade may be much more advantageouſly carried on from Crown Point and the lakes, the firſt for the northern, and the other for the more ſoutherly traders, down the Mohawk and North Rivers, to the city of New York. This method has been already beneficially practiſed by us; and by this time might have been very importantly ſo, had not the great power of the French in Canada put a

ſtop

ſtop to our carrying on the fur trade by that our now beſt, and then only channel.

That trade may be carried on more advantageouſly by the Mohawk and North Rivers, in the Province of New York, from the Lakes and Crown Point, as is well known to all perſons that ever were in thoſe countries. By thoſe rivers, abovementioned, and the Lakes, there is a ſhorter and more expeditious paſſage into the heart of thoſe countries where the Indian fur-traders dwell, than by the river of St. Laurence, whoſe navigation is very tedious and extremely dangerous; and that river too is often choaked up with ice, when the North River is free and open. The inhabitants of America are ſo ſenſible of this truth, that, on the reduction of Canada, the Mohawk river was inſtantly ſettled by Germans, quite northward up to Crown Point, who expect thereby to be ſituated in the great thoroughfare for the Indian fur-trade; and the lands bordering on the North River, which formerly were not worth above ten ſhillings the acre, through this circumſtance, have riſen to forty.

By this it muſt inconteſtably appear, that the diſtricts of Quebec and Montreal, which we have conquered from the French, and which

which is all of Canada they can cede to us (the reſt being in poſſeſſion of independent Indians) is of ſo little importance to us, that it can only be conſidered in this treaty as a great waſte, fit for the habitation of bears and wolves, thrown on us by neceſſity and the encroaching diſpoſition of our enemies, which we muſt, for the ſake of our colonies, take into our poſſeſſion, in order to keep out of its boundaries a moſt perfidious and perverſe ſet of men, worſe by far than the moſt ſavage inhabitants of theſe dreadful wilds.

The treaty of Weſtphalia, as I have before expreſſed myſelf, is the Magna Charta of the German conſtitution; that capitulation between her emperor and princes, on which her civil and religious liberties depend; the fundamental contract that ſecures the toleration of the three religions in that empire, and circumſcribes the imperial power. Of this treaty the French, as I obſerved in my plan of peace, are guarantees, which gives them a handle, whenever any difference happens in Germany, to interpoſe with an armed force for the pretended defence of liberties which ſhe deſires to ſee extinguiſhed, and to preſerve a conſtitution which ſhe would be glad to annihilate.

Such

Such a reſource might have been prudent while the houſe of Auſtria and the crown of France were at profeſſed enmity. But now, when the court of Vienna cringes to that of Verſailles, and a prince of the houſe of Bourbon fills the Spaniſh throne, there is, on the continent of Europe, no ſufficient bulwark againſt thegrowing tyranny of France; nothing to oppoſe her influence; nothing to prevent her from ſpreading her power and commerce all over Europe, and burying the proteſtant religion with the liberties of Chriſtendom.

Is it not evident, then, my countrymen, that now, whilſt we have ability to do it, we ſhould check the duplicity of perfidious France, and oblige her to renounce her guarantee of the conſtitution of Germany? If we neglect the intereſts of mankind, can we hope for the favour of the Father of all? Is it poſſible that our brethren in Germany can bleed by French chicanery and popiſh politics, and we not endeavour to avert the blow, which, through them, is levelled againſt the purity of our faith, and the liberty of the human race? No——If we are Chriſtians, we muſt ſuffer when our brethren are wounded——If we are men, we muſt exert ourſelves againſt the aſpiring views of tyranny.——If we are Engliſhmen, we muſt humble the tramplers upon human liberty——

and if we are patriots, commercial ſubjects, and deſirous to promote the trade and proſperity of our country, we muſt level our rival in trade, our antient oppreſſor, and our conſtant and unwearied Foe.

In what other manner can we attain theſe high and important ends, but by utterly annihilating the French guarantee of Weſtphalia, and thereby removing every fallacious pretence in France to keep the peace of Germany (ſtrange paradox!) by diſturbing it.

And as there is nothing that can ſo much prevent the ill conſequences of any future endeavour which our enemy may make to intermeddle with German differences, as the aggrandizing thoſe families whoſe natural intereſt it is to oppoſe them, there can be no doubt of the juſtice of my propoſal of raiſing the houſes of Brandenburgh and Heſſe to ſuch a degree of power and importance as may enable them, with our aſſiſtance, to check the progreſs of any ſuch attempt, as well as to form a proteſtant balance to the new catholic league * of France, Auſtria, and

* This league of the houſe of Bourbon with thoſe of Auſtria and Saxony, to demoliſh that of Brandenburgh, and which gave riſe to the preſent German war, is ſo very

and Saxony: that united popiſh confederacy that might, ſome time or other, render the civil and religious liberties of Europe extremely precarious, and ſpread over the world the power, the influence, and the commerce, of France.

From hence, I preſume, it is evident to the people of England, that any peace, which is not equally advantageous to Great Britain with the plan of the treaty that I have now laid down, and which I have no certain reaſon to ſuppoſe will not be by the articles of the genuine one (my arguments ariſing not from the real plan, hitherto unknown to me, but from thoſe which have appeared in the public prints) can ſcarcely be any other than an implicit ſurrender of the liberties of Europe, and a transfer (O worthy ſtockjobbers, allow me the expreſſion!) of the commerce of Britain to the emolument of the ambitious Louis of Bourbon; for, thereby, that aſpiring houſe may poſſibly be put into ſuch circumſtances, as will, in a few years, enable her to give laws

very ſimilar to the Catholic League, which was formed by France, the branch of Guiſe, and other popiſh powers, againſt the reformation in Germany, that it may be juſtly ſtiled the New Catholic League; for it conſiſts, like that, of popiſh princes; and is, like that, calculated to root out of Germany the proteſtant intereſt and religion.

to Europe.——Is it not then, my countrymen, if a peace like this cannot be obtained, infinitely more eligible to continue the war till our enemies are reduced to ſue for terms dependent upon generous conquerors? A bad peace now would have much worſe effects than could probably ariſe to us, in ſome years, from even an ill-conducted war, and fortune becoming alſo a firm ally to our enemies.

Miniſters in a free ſtate are the guardians of the nation; public truſtees to ſecure her patrimony, and keep for her every acquiſition, which, in the courſe of Providence, becomes the national Property, and appears her intereſt to preſerve. The creatures of deſpotic lords can indeed diſpoſe of the eſtates and perſons of the ſubject as they pleaſe; but a limited adminiſtration ſhould only govern and lay out for the public good what belongs to the public. They cannot lawfully divert it from that chanel, much leſs diſpoſe of it to an enemy. There is no officer in England ſuperior to the laws, and conſequently no ſervant of the ſtate, within our country, that can legally diſpoſe of thoſe national acquiſitions, which the welfare of the people requires to be annexed to the Britiſh crown, without the conſent of the nation. Our conqueſts have been purchaſed

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by our arms and by our treaſure; by the toils and dangers of our fellow-citizens; by their blood and by their death; they are ours by the laws of war, by the aſſenting voice of juſtice, and by the decree of the Moſt High.

The whole government, conſidered complexly, draws its authority from our common law; and that law in no caſe authorizes truſtees, guardians, or adminiſtrators, of any ſort, whether they act for, or in behalf of, communities, or manage the eſtates of private perſons, to alienate any thing under their care without the conſent of the owners, or the decree of a court authorized to judge of ſuch matters. Since this is the caſe in general for truſtees or managers for others, can we ſuppoſe it lawful for the ſervants of the public to alienate any important property of the community, or give away at their pleaſure the deareſt blood and vitals of the nation? No—— Reaſon revolts againſt ſuch a monſtrous doctrine, and law condemns it as abſurd and inadmiſſible.

Our conſtitution affords us various means to remove from our bowels the enemies of our peace. All great republics are, and ever were, by their conſtitutions, furniſhed with like implements of defence againſt the

encroachments of the great. The Athenian had their law of Oſtraciſm, whereby they baniſhed from their territories the overgrown citizen, whoſe abilities and circumſtances rendered him univerſally dreaded or generally ſuſpected. That wiſe people juſtly concluded, that it was highly proper that the intereſt and proſperity of one family ſhould be ſacrificed to the peace and quiet of the whole ſtate. For the ſame end the Romans had their proſcriptions; and engraved on tables in the forum the names of thoſe, who, by reaſon of public utility, were interdicted or forbidden the uſe of the air and water of their native country. Our anceſtors, under like circumſtances, ſecured themſelves with attainders, and drove from England the great miniſters whoſe power was uſed to break the peace, or diſturb the tranquillity of their country. In ſome caſes recourſe was had to this extremity, without a previous trial; and, in others, this expedient was not brought on the ſtage till a trial had been attempted and found ineffectual; as in the caſes of the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Strafford: Either way, this practice is equally juſtifiable. When in the natural body the amputation of a limb becomes neceſſary for the good of the patient, the ſurgeon that would heſitate or delay to cut it off, would be juſtly blamed. So in

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a body politic, when the quiet and ſafety of the whole perſuades the baniſhment or removal of a ſingle perſon, or ſmall junto, neceſſity and the good of the community juſtify the propriety of the meaſure. Nay, every virtue the ſuſpected citizen is poſſeſſed of, makes him the more dangerous, if he ſhould turn all his abilities againſt the country in whoſe boſom he was nouriſhed.

Having ſo truly, and I hope candidly (tho' indeed very briefly) ſhewn the nature and power of the office, whoſe poſſeſſor is ſuppoſed to *guide* all our meaſures, as well as other matters relative thereto, let me calmly aſk all the diſturbers of the public tranquillity, what occaſion there can be for ſuch torrents of perſonal abuſe as have flowed from the pens of our preſent writers, whether miniſterial or antiminiſterial? If they had uſed their liferary weapon as I have done, to ſhew the critical ſituation of the preſent moment, and, like me, given a voluntary and patriotic advice, thrown in their mite, in the great work of peace; I flatter myſelf that all good men would have praiſed them for the honeſty of their intentions—But, as the caſe now ſtands, what ſalutary effects can they expect from vilifying and defaming? If the peace ſhould be a bad one, the contrivers

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of it will no doubt be called to account for it by thoſe under whoſe immediate cognizance it comes: If a glorious one, they will moſt certainly receive (what muſt exceed every other recompence) the thanks and plaudits of a great and grateful people, and their names be held in venerable remembrance to the lateſt poſterity. The greateſt man indeed may happen to err in his political judgment, and on that foundation alone it is that I now addreſs my countrymen; but I muſt confeſs, that when I maturely weigh the honourable nature of the office of a prime miniſter (as far as any ſuch poſt can be ſaid to exiſt in this nation) and conſider the puniſhment annexed to the crimes of bad one, I cannot believe, in an Æra glorious like this, that one now lives in this nation who does not conſult the welfare of the people: Nay, under a King ſo truly Britiſh, I do not believe it is poſſible for one to breathe who is not, from the illuſtrious example of his Royal Maſter, in the moſt extenſive degree, poſſeſſed with all the *furor* of the AMOR PATRIÆ. To go even farther, I can ſcarce think it poſſible that there is a ſubject of this Realm, of any condition whatever, however mean in his ſituation of life, whether a native of South Britain, of North Britain, or elſewhere,

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who does not wiſh, and would not promote, to the utmoſt of his power and abilities, a moſt glorious and permanent peace: But, on the other hand, if any ſuch ſecret and inteſtine enemy can poſſibly anywhere lurk in this kingdom, it is an axiom equally true in morals and in politics, HAPPY IS THE HAND THAT CAN REACH HIS HEART WHO LABOURS TO UNDO HIS COUNTRY.

London, Nov. 25. 1762.

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